Performing Identity, Saving Land: Ainu Indigenous Ecotourism as a Stage for Restitution of Rights in Japan

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Recognized as Japan's Indigenous peoples in 2008, the Ainu people of Hokkaido have sought to recuperate land and self-determination by physically reenacting Ainu traditional knowledge through ecotourism in Hokkaido. Colonization and assimilation have severed most contemporary Ainu from cosmological and social relations rooted in land and waterways. Ecotourism provides a context for reenacting the pre-assimilation Ainu worldview through engaging in wild food gathering, relearning subsistence practices for cultural transmission, and reinscribing Ainu cultural logics onto the land through stewardship and language. Minding the danger posed by essentialist claims of an inherent ecological morality as Indigenous peoples, in this chapter I will argue that Indigenous ecotourism enables Ainu to strengthen their relationships with the land as Indigenous peoples, to hold the government accountable for multigenerational colonialism, and ultimately offers the possibility of recuperating land and natural resource rights key to rejuvenating ethnic identity.

Introduction

In 2003, representatives of Japan's Ministry of the Environment began making regular treks to Shiretoko National Park in remote eastern Hokkaido. Shiretoko had been nominated as a World Natural Heritage site, and recommendations were sent to the UNESCO Committee, the International Union for Conservation of Nature, in early 2004.[1] Much was at stake in this nomination as the question of Japan's natural heritage achieving global recognition had weighty economic and political implications. Recommendation documents briefly noted that Shiretoko stemmed from an Ainu toponym. Nevertheless, Ainu representatives were not included in planning meetings; they had been neatly removed from the topography of Shiretoko:

> Bureaucrats and elite adminstrators from Kasumigaseki simply didn't get it, whenever I pointed out that Ainu should be included in the property management committee, they treated it so lightly, "You know Fujisaki, you keep mentioning Ainu here, but Ainu no longer exist today." And that was the level of awareness of most Tokyo bureaucrats, and anyone educated in Japan, an ordinary response from your average Japanese person. They weren't simply talking about Ainu in Shiretoko, this meant no Ainu in Japan, period (Interview: Fujisaki, 8 June 2007).

Fujisaki, an ecotour operator and founding member of Shiretoko Indigenous Eco Tourism Research Union (SIPETRU), was concerned that an important stakeholder in deciding the future of Japan's last wild places was being ignored: the Ainu, Indigenous[2] people of Hokkaido and custodians of the local flora and fauna for millennia.[3]

This example of the near-complete erasure of Ainu from the landscape of Hokkaido and Japan, more broadly, encapsulates the government's posture toward Ainu in Hokkaido. The matter of ignoring Ainu in the process of Shiretoko's nomination as World Heritage site constitutes "discrimination by disregard" for some (Ono 2006: 42). State policy toward Ainu has focused on management of difference, and from 1799–present, on sculpting Ainu assimilation into majority Japanese society. Alternately, from the late nineteenth-century through the postwar era, the government has also sensationalized Ainu difference in early tourism, focusing on the so-called primitive and racial alterity of Ainu, as a foil to Japan's own modernity. As postwar ideologues embraced the narrative of Japan the homogeneous, ethnic difference was neutralized, and Ainu were collapsed into the national polity as assimilated. Today Ainu efforts to reclaim tourism from former colonialist and spectacle-driven models extend from the global Indigenous movement and Ainu work to self-determine their futures across Japan and against the state.

In 2008, Ainu achieved a long-awaited goal: recognition as the Indigenous peoples of Japan. Yet the government still has not determined whether or not this correlates with international categories of Indigenous peoples, and thus whether Indigenous rights might accrue (lewallen 2008). Ainu have lobbied internationally for self-determination and return of land for customary uses, yet questions of Indigenous rights have been tabled. Prior to gaining state recognition of their indigeneity, Ainu had sought to recover land through ecotourism, and 2005 proved a watershed year. The nomination of Shiretoko as Japan's third World Natural Heritage site triggered a series of events, leading to IUCN's recommendation that Ainu be included as co-stewards of Shiretoko. Place-based experiential tours were introduced as the

focus in several localities across urban and rural Hokkaido (Figure 14.1). In all contexts these tours focus on reclaiming Ainu narratives of place, or the particular relationships Ainu remember as embedded in the land, waterways, and cartographies of their ancestors' memories. Although I conducted surveys and field research in multiple locales across Hokkaido, this chapter principally concerns Shiretoko, because field analysis concentrated on Ainu efforts to initiate ecotourism programs (from 2006–2008) and to enact the recommendations of the IUCN technical report. Ainu now actively seek to renew their relationship with the land and the landscape, less as figures inhabiting this terrain and tourist iconography of it, and moreso as agents empowered to mediate relations between themselves and the deities as stewards of the land and waterways, and between themselves and tourists as consumers of the landscape and its varied gifts.

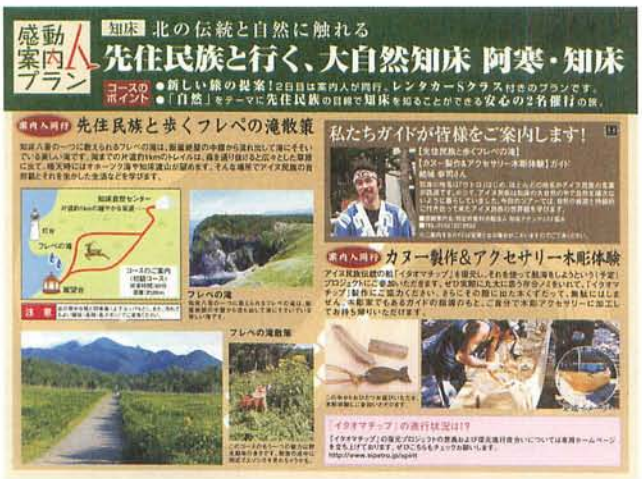

Figure 14.1: All Nippon Airways package tours to Shiretoko feature Ainu ecotours.

My aim in this chapter is twofold: to demonstrate how Ainu ecotourism contributes to an expanding "Indigenous space" in Japan, and to analyze how ecotourism may serve as a strategy to reclaim usage rights and broader access to land and waterways. Following Hathaway (2010), the rubric of "Indigenous space" examines how the notion of Indigenous identity emerges in differing geo-political contexts, and tracks its evolutions and adaptations to local needs. Thinking through Indigenous space forces us to see indigeneity as processual, as politically and historically contingent, and to grapple with how it alters social relations within self-identified Indigenous groups, as well as between non-Indigenous and Indigenous society (Hathaway 2010: 304). For Ainu Indigenous space may be realized in part through reconstituting relations between Ainu and the land, as one aspect of a comprehensive undertaking involving oral, somatic, material, and text-based memory linking Ainu with ancestors and land- and water-oriented cultural practices in Hokkaido. Earlier tourism objectified Ainu as spectacles of difference, meanwhile, Ainu and supporters suggest emergent forms of ecotourism return the agency of authorship and representation to Ainu themselves. Whilst proponents of Indigenous ecotourism may eventually seek to reclaim control of Ainu ancestral lands/waterways, not all ecotourism today embraces political objectives initially. The Ainu case challenges understanding of ecotourism and cultural revitalization more broadly, because unlike the strategies of Indigenous peers in the Americas (Nelson 1999; Ramos 1998; Warren 1998), Ainu organizing does not always position itself in opposition to the state, or seek to advance a political agenda against the state. The largest Ainu organization and highly bureaucratic Ainu Association of Hokkaido (AAH), receives 80 percent of its funding and top administrators from Hokkaido government (Siddle 1996: 187), compromising its ability to serve as a mouthpiece for political mobilization. As an economic prospect, ecotourism generates *Ainu-meshi*, (literally "feeding oneself through Ainu ethnicity"), or the ability to levy income by drawing from Ainu practices and knowledge systems. Until recently the only sources of postcolonial *Ainu-meshi* stemmed from employment in tourist communities, woodcarving, and textile-making.

As with Indigenous ecotourism initiatives in New Zealand, Canada, and elsewhere, ecotourism enables a space for Ainu selfcraft and instrumentalizes transmission of knowledge between knowledge-keepers and culture inheritors. Today's tour guides must self-educate before leading tours because the younger generation has been raised in urban locales. Transmission—when it occurs—enables the transfer of Traditional Ecological Knowledge (TEK)[4] between elders and youth, and between ancestors and the living, who have a covenant with their ancestors to keep these earlier practices. By rejuvenating TEK, Ainu have begun investing themselves in a constellation of Ainu-*kamuy* (human-deity) relations, and become able to demonstrate these relations as a present-day and continuous rather than historically-rooted process. More importantly, this chapter argues that Ainu embed these interactions within particular topographies, urging a reverence for the deities of certain locales, and emphasizing place-based relations between local communities and the natural relations that sustain them. These relations are invoked in enacting cultural practice and bolstering cultural identities, which are linked to places, both actual and imagined topographies. As outlined below, ecotourism introduces Ainu cultural practices to outsiders as a demonstration of Ainu rootedness in the land. It also fosters sustained access to this land, thereby thickening understanding of and engagement in ancestral land rites. Indigenous ecotourism, this chapter suggests, enables Ainu to strengthen and emphasize their relationships with the land as Indigenous peoples, to hold the government accountable for multigenerational colonialism, and in future decades may offer recuperation of terrestrial and marine access rights seen as key to embodying ethnic identity.

Ainu Senses of Place

Ecotourism is said to tap into embedded memory, or the memory held in places, moored under layers of landmass plastered over as Japan, or in Hokkaido as the "shallow history"[5] of *Wajin* (ethnic Japanese) settlers. As this metaphor suggests, archaeological layers serve as a metric of *Wajin* history in Hokkaido, indexing the historical depth of Ainu and prior human history in this land. Memory and place are the constituent elements of this emergent brand of tourism: Indigenous ecotourism. By recasting the history of

particular topographies in Hokkaido and articulating relationships as mutually constitutive understandings between Ainu and their *kamuy* caretakers in the land and waterways, Ainu ecotours become mapping devices for redefining these territories as Ainu. "No longer can we destroy this nature of *Ainu Mosir*. Ainu here managed to live within and use the natural world without destroying it, and we need our youth to learn experience that history, and ecotours provide one means," ecotour guide Ishii Ponpe urged (Ishii 2008). Ecotours shift the experience of the surrounding environment (or "natural world") away from perception as an aesthetically pleasing space of consumption (the tourist lens), or as a resource depot for harvesting and commoditizing (the capitalistic, colonialist lens). Rather, they implicate visitors in a vast landscape of human-deity relations. The surrounding landscapes become animated through Ainu narratives as related by tour guides, revealing new relationships between humans and their supernatural hosts. Ecotourism provides a context for reenacting the "traditional" Ainu worldview through engaging in wild food gathering and in future iterations, hunting and fishing, relearning subsistence practices and inscribing Ainu cultural logics onto the land through stewardship and language. They ask guests to revisit their taken-for-granted assumptions about Hokkaido, and reimagine it from an Ainu perspective. Ecotours engender a type of "soft power" by fostering a base of supporters sympathetic to Ainu values who will support Ainu land claims and other political issues in Hokkaido, without making waves among detractors (Interview: Fujisaki, 8 June 2007). The ecotours are not simply a route toward economic stability for Ainu youth, though certainly this is a critical component. Rather, they offer the possibility of rejuvenation: transforming Ainu relations with the land toward renewed stewardship and reciprocity, of being looked after by the land, rather than of "caring for" the land. Ecotourism is presented as a self-proclaimed sustainable practice, masking political uses of ecotourism as a practice, including future land claims. And finally, ecotours may provide a context for dramatizing narratives of interdependency between Ainu and *kamuy*, as a pedagogical tool for Japanese society today.

Two examples below illustrate how memories lodged within places incite emotional responses in contemporary Ainu, and how these articulations may be challenged by the Japanese government. In the "era of the ancestors," a moniker many Ainu use to index the era before Ainu assimilation under the Japanese government's colonial policies (1799–present), Ainu villages clustered around riverbanks, and each community claimed exclusive usufruct to fishing, hunting, and plant-gathering in a broad region surrounding the river, a zone called *Iwor* (Watanabe 1972: 56–68). While legal hunting and fishing access was severed in the 1870s and replaced by agriculture in the 1880s, the concept of *Iwor* continued to regulate territorial boundaries (both physical and metaphysical relations) through the early twentieth-century. In the Ainu worldview, the *kamuy* (spirits) inhabiting the watershed of each river in the terrestrial form of fur-bearing animals, fish, and plants, were understood to provide protection and sustenance for each community. Each *Iwor* zone was perceived as being owned, not by Ainu communities, but by the *kamuy*-spirits who, based on ceremony and relations with humans, chose when to present themselves in the guise of a deer, bear, or salmon to particular communities (Watanabe 1972: 77–78). Ainu understood their relations with these *kamuy* in a metaphysical sense: animals allowed themselves to be hunted to provide sustenance for Ainu, and Ainu in turn liberated the souls of *kamuy* spirits by harvesting these animals. In return, each *kotan* (village) was expected to cultivate reciprocal relations with local *kamuy* spirits, through ceremony and exercising restraint in the hunt. Relations between humans (Ainu) and their *kamuy*-spirits were spatially oriented, based on contiguity with each Ainu community. Village locations were determined by salmon spawning areas, for example, and these regions were named and assigned to particular settlements. Likewise, *Iwor* groups built deer and bear huts to mark their hunting grounds. Hunting, plant gathering, and fishing in another village's *Iwor* required formal permission accompanied by ritual. Visitors performed a ritual greeting to the hearth goddess and the *kamuy*-spirit of the river or mountain, and offered carved *inaw* branches to appease the local spirits; fishermen were expected to leave a small portion of their catch as a gesture of gratitude to the host community. Watanabe argues that Ainu claims on local resources were not driven by economic interests, but stemmed from a metaphysical orientation and the need to preserve a delicate ecological balance between humans and the spirits who owned the river and watershed regions (Watanabe 1972: 77). Fear of divine reprisal and the threat of starvation motivated Ainu to abide by these protocols, and to mete out punishments against trespassers and those who disregarded these agreed-upon conditions. This delicate balance, however, had begun to crumble as proto-capitalism developed in Hokkaido with proliferation of *Wajin*-run trading posts in the seventeenth-century. *Iwor* communities began to compete in harvesting animals to trade with *Wajin*, and this competition in some cases escalated into violent warfare, indelibly changing the landscape and relations with the guardian *kamuy* of their lands, who became increasingly commoditized (Walker 2001: 52).

Occasionally, infringements in neighboring *Iwor* escalated into warfare/conflict. Shakushain's War, known as the last major war of unified Ainu resistance against Japanese occupation of Hokkaido, originated as a territorial dispute over hunting and fishing boundaries between neighboring groups. The tension over territory and lawful usage rights stemmed from an ongoing disagreement over boundaries leading to an intra-Ainu war (1648–1654). The ensuing Shakushain's War (1669) is memorialized as the last unified pan-Ainu resistance to Japanese settlement and colonization of Hokkaido. Yet the notion that Shakushain mobilized and unified Ainu along ethnic lines has been challenged by recent historiography, which argues that violations of *Iwor* boundaries and desire for trade supremacy instead motivated these alliances (Walker 2001: 48–72).

This next example illustrates how memories of place are historically and geographically contingent. Questions surrounding land and territorial memory continue to raise hackles among contemporary Ainu. In July 2004, Katō Tadashi, AAH Director, met informally with David Sheppard of the IUCN research team at a dinner party. (The government had not acknowledged Ainu requests to be included in consultations.) Sheppard asked Katō, "Do Hokkaido Ainu

feel enthusiastic about Shiretoko?," and "Are there sites designated as sacred sites inside the property?" Katō responded yes to the first, and to the second, he replied no. Whilst Katō served as the de facto representative of Hokkaido Ainu, he did not have lineage in Shiretoko and had not consulted with local Ainu, and was technically in violation of *Iwor* boundaries. Frustrated with Katō's dismissal of sacred sites in Shiretoko, a group of AAH members began independent research and learned that remnants of some 53 *casi* sites remained on the Shiretoko peninsula.[6] None of these sites had been listed in the Ministry of the Environment's report to IUCN (Ono 2006, see Figure 14.2). *Casi*, a type of earthwork construction alternately used for ceremonial, military, and livelihood purposes, may also be seen as repositories of ancestral memory. Today these histories, embedded in multiple layers of sediment, are guiding restoration of Ainu narratives through ecotourism.

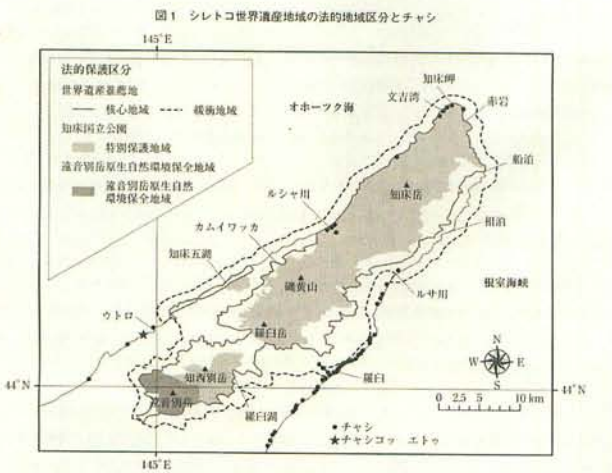

Figure 14.2: *Casi* locations in Shiretoko World Heritage region, denoted by round dot. (Reprinted from Ono 2006)

Legacies of Ainu Tourism in Hokkaido

Ainu have been synonymous with Hokkaido in the tourist imagination since early Japanese and European explorers recorded their impressions of the island in the seventeenth-century. Souvenirs from Ezo (*Ezo miyage*) exemplify Japan's imperial designs in claiming the territory: eighteenth-century Japanese visitors such as shogunal officials purchased Ainu-made objects as *kenjōhin* (tribute items), and later as souvenirs for personal use (Saitō 1994). Ainu handicraft production was borne from the loss of revenue from trade under the Tokugawa regime.

In 1881, the Meiji Emperor and his entourage visited Shiraoi to observe Hokkaido's development progress. Shiraoi Ainu performed a simplified version of the bear spirit-sending ceremony,[7] solidifying Shiraoi as a site of Ainu tourism. On each of these visits, Ainu performances became part of the standard fare: by presenting traditional dances and songs, they in fact enacted submission, or were coerced into enacting submission to the emperor. Imperial tracks criss-crossed Hokkaido as the Emperor and government officials examined development progress. Photographs of Ainu "customs performances" became mass-produced as tourist postcards (Cheung 1996). The synchronicity between Ainu and Hokkaido landscape was encapsulated in these photographs, implanting Ainu within the landscape of Hokkaido, fixed in the terrain as natural formations themselves.

Expectations to reject Ainu practices, to Japanize, and concomitantly to embody "Ainu tradition" on the tourist stage, put Ainu in a double bind (Yūki 1980). On the one hand Hokkaido authorities commanded them to improve their customs or assimilate (*kaizoku-ka* or *dōka*); at the same time, they were compelled to enact traditional Ainu postures including sacred ceremony, prayer, performing dance and song, and modeling traditional clothing. In 1941 Hokkaido prefectural authorities issued a directive banning all tourist activities, which may have dampened enthusiasm for these practices temporarily (Saito 1999: 115).[8] Issued during wartime, this directive sought to clamp down on performance of Ainu difference for tourists to emphasize the unity of Japan under the Emperor. Banning the bear spirit-sending ceremony, traditional dancing, and modeling traditional robes, reinforced the ongoing policy of Japanization (*dōka seisaku*), while promoting *kōminka* (Imperialization) as ideological support for the Emperor and a display of patriotism (cf Ching 2001).

Ecotourism Initiatives Across Ainu Communities Today

Tourist travel to Hokkaido invariably included visits to Ainu tourist villages from the Meiji era until the 1980s when a protest against the Japan Tourist Bureau's discriminatory marketing of Ainu tours brought many of the package tours to a grinding halt. Japan's nationwide Anglophone newspaper, Japan Times, had published a Hokkaido tour advertisement, featuring "a fascinating visit to a real Ainu village in Shiraoi to see the ancient customs and culture of the famed hairy Ainu" (*Japan Times* 22 July 1981) (Figure 14.3). The Japan Tourist Board (JTB) was subjected to *kyūdan* (denunciation) hearings based on the advertisement's inclusion of racist expressions such as "the famed hairy Ainu." After six months of debate, JTB agreed to run a notice of apology and correction in Japan Times and four major Japanese papers (Narita and Hanasaki 1985). JTB curtailed its tours to Ainu sites for many years afterward. Long before these denunciations, in the 1960s, "Tourist Ainu," as those who lived and worked in tourist communities were called, had been blamed for fomenting misunderstanding and circulating anachronistic images of Ainu lifestyles (Pewre Utari Hensan Iinkai 1998: 111–118). Photographs featuring bearded Ainu elders in ceremonial regalia circulated during the postwar era were said to be difficult to distinguish from postcards based on photographs from an earlier era, and commercial photographers were said to have refused employment to Ainu men who did have the mark of an elder, i.e. the beard (Siddle 1996: 158).[9]

From the mid-1960s through the early 1980s, the tourist industry was targeted as the source of misinformation, fomenting pre-existing discriminatory attitudes toward Ainu. Nevertheless tourism remained a significant source of revenue for those living in tourist villages. Indeed, in communities like Shiraoi, tourism afforded "the only path for the survival of Ainu culture" (Nōmoto 1998: 16). In 2005, the Ainu Association issued a "Tour Operator Handbook" for companies organizing tours to Ainu villages, to educate

them in cultural sensitivity toward Ainu cultural practices. The tourist industry inside Ainu communities has slowly transformed from the late 1990s through 2010, influenced by changes in the legal and political status of Ainu people themselves. Enactment of the Ainu Cultural Promotion Act (1997) raised the stakes for cultural conservation and revival. Tourist communities no longer retain the dominant representation of Ainu cultural expression because now other communities have become actively engaged in efforts to revitalize and fashion a viable cultural practice for future generations.

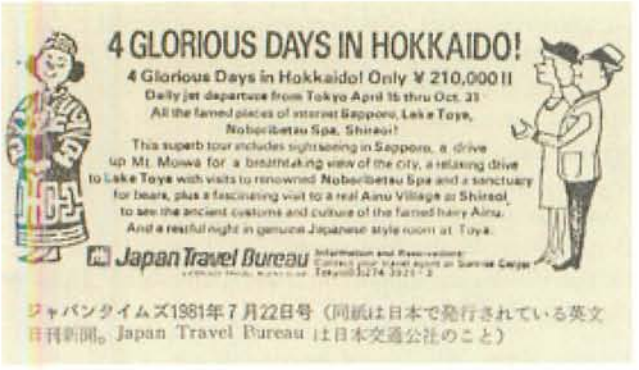

Figure 14.3: JTB Hokkaido package tour advertisement: "See the ancient customs and culture of the famed hairy Ainu." (1981). (Reprinted from Narita and Hanasaki 1985.)

Ecotourism, A "Vessel"[10] of Recovery

In recent years, ecotourism programs across Japan have fostered complex and dynamic relationships between guests and hosts. The type of tourism popular with majority Japanese tourists has gradually shifted away from package tours toward a participation-based or experiential tourism. Tours now compel visitors to take on participatory roles, occasionally involving risk, and to interact with living organisms, including human, animal, and plant life. These experiential-type programs provide for a more spontaneous and dynamic interaction with place, as opposed to static templates accessible through museum showcases or passive consumption of dance performances and model villages in Ainu tourist locales.

Chief among these new breeds of tourism is ecotourism, combining multiple themes: understanding of new terrains and ecologies; environmental awareness; the potential for sustainable development through low-impact, localized tours; a range of experiential modes; and through the medium of Indigenous ecotourism, cultivation and revival of Traditional Ecological Knowledge (TEK). Defined as a "body of knowledge, practice, and belief, evolving by adaptive processes and handed down through generations by cultural transmission," TEK concerns the social relations inhering between individual human beings, humans and animals, and the environment (Berkes 1999: 8). The inclusion of "tradition" in describing the type of ecological knowledge TEK encompasses should not be construed as essentialist or static. On the contrary, students of TEK describe it as flexible and cumulative, constantly adapting to environmental changes and human needs. Finally, TEK focuses on a body of knowledge that has evolved through relations with a particular geographic area and its local ecosystem, and thus TEK frequently invokes the ecological knowledge of communities self-identifying as Indigenous, but may also include non-Indigenous communities who depend on local ecosystems for livelihood (Berkes 1999: 8). For example, the Inuit government of Nunavut now draws on *Inuit qaujimajatuqangit* (IQ), or Indigenous Knowledge, as an ethical guide and policy model for honoring Inuit cultural heritage, enabling self-determination, and designing government and society according to Inuit value systems (Searles 2006: 98).

In addition to Shiretoko, Ainu communities have developed their own ecotourism programs emerging from the brew of topography and human culture in each site. In Biratori, ecotours focus on Ainu language, place names, and the linguistic heritage of Sarugawa Ainu communities. As a result of the Nibutani Dam Decision, the government was compelled to conduct a Cultural Assessment study of Saru River Ainu communities, undertaken by a team of local Ainu auto-ethnographers (Ainu Bunka Kankyō Hozen Taisaku Chōsa Iinkai 2006). The body of knowledge generated by this survey is now nurturing ecotours across this community. In Akan, ecotours enable new modes for generating tourist revenue, with content that highlights seasonal transformations and Ainu strategies for survival in this frigid environment (Figure 14.4). Tours of urban Sapporo emphasize the complex narratives of Ainu lives lived in the city, focusing on Ainu history lodged under the university. The ecotour here relates a multi-layered past: underneath the campus the remains of Satsumon era Ainu pit dwellings are interred,[11] a river where salmon once spawned has been rerouted through the heart of campus, and some 1,000 Ainu human remains, pilfered from Ainu burial sites, are stored in a charnel house on site (Figure 14.5). These tours enable a postcolonial critique and provide contexts for articulation of an Ainu historical narrative. Educating tourists about the hidden history of one of Japan's leading universities by revealing that Ainu settlements were razed to build Hokkaido University, and that university anthropologists excavated Ainu gravesites across Hokkaido, Sakhalin, and the Kuriles for osteological research (lewallen 2007), is empowering for local Ainu (Figure 14.6).

Figure 14.4: Akan Tour: Ainu language lesson at Bokke Geothermal area.

Ecotours have also assumed more grassroots participatory forms, which aim for social transformation rather than economic benefit. In 2008, during the lead-up to the G8 Summit hosted in Hokkaido, a group of multiethnic youth organized *Pirka Kewtum Apkas*, as a 400-kilometer walk from Northern to central Hokkaido commemorating the forced relocation of Sakhalin Ainu from Russia to Japan in 1875. This gathering was not envisioned as an ecotour but as a call to awareness of this history and a walk to honor these ancestors. Recent variants of this project include ecotours focused on *Ainu neno an Ainu Mori* in Monbetsu, Hokkaido, where a grassroots conglomeration of *Wajin* and Ainu youth seek to restore Indigenous wildlife management strategies and return forestland to a climax condition where species such as Hokkaido brown bears may return (Figure 14.7).

Figure 14.5: Breaking bread with the ancestors, Ainu Memorial Ceremony.

Figure 14.6: Boxed ancestral remains in charnel house, Hokkaido University.

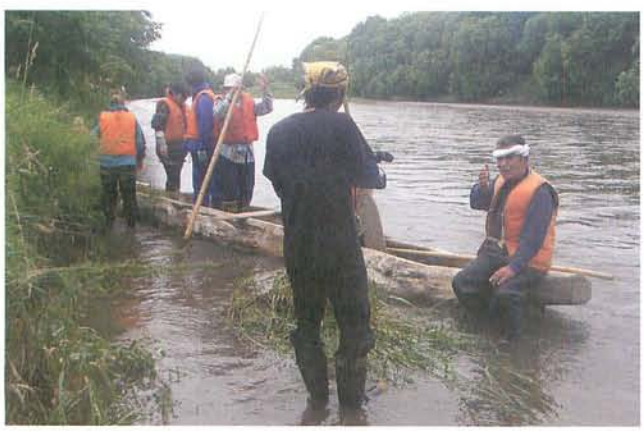

Figure 14.7: Reviving the cip (dugout canoe) on Mo-pet River in Monbetsu (photo courtesy of Yonehara Masatsugu).

In some ways, ecotourism is not a new phenomenon. Prior to the emergence of commercial ecotourism, Hokkaido-ites expressed interest in supporting transmission and conservation of Ainu TEK as early as the 1970s. Knowledge-keeper Sugimura Kyoko recalled that the Asahikawa Museum of Local History organized wild vegetable gathering and hunting, followed by cooking and processing of the foods harvested, a model that many of today's ecotours have adopted. In 1973, the group planned a bear hunt, targeting hibernating bears, but this was unsuccessful (Kosaka 1994: 126). In Sapporo, grassroots organizations like Yay Yukar[12] no Mori have hosted seasonal ecological retreats to teach self-sufficiency and pass down Ainu knowledge rooted in the land, since the 1990s. Yay Yukar gatherings focus on self-guided discovery, self-motivation and self-responsibility. Participants gain understanding of seasonal foodstuffs and recipes, hunting practices and ceremonies to honor *kamuy* guests, and TEK for living in the mountains and forests of Hokkaido. Content-wise these tours seek to transmit cultural knowledge to the next generation, and do not differentiate between *Wajin* and Ainu participants. Finally, another Sapporo group actively organizing urban ecotours since the 1990s is Tekekara no Kai, hosted by Ainu knowledge-keeper Ishii Ponpe. Tekekara no Kai ecotours are priced affordably for students and community members, and highlight gathering and cooking seasonal foodstuffs, crafting tools such as snowshoes, or learning about the history of Hokkaido colonization, and always feature a musical segment such as a *tonkori*[13] performance.

Indigenous Ecotourism for Profit: Shiretoko

As discussed above, Japan applied for Shiretoko's nomination to UNESCO World Heritage (as a natural heritage site) in 2004 but failed to engage Ainu community members or their descendants in prior consultation. The Ministry of the Environment did not include Ainu based on an assumption that Ainu were not regular inhabitants of Shiretoko. However, the landscapes of Shiretoko are impressed with the memory of Ainu and Tobinitai cultures.[14] Ainu ancestral presence lingers in toponyms and is literally hewn into the topography. Shiretoko itself is based on the Ainu word, *Sir* (land) + *Etoko* (tip; point), together meaning "cape" or "promontory." The landscape is dotted with formations known as *casi*, whose structure and purpose evolved across many centuries, used alternately as sacred sites for ceremony, stages for oratorical debates used to resolve dispute (*caranke*), and later as sites for lookout posts and fortresses to defend Ainu land against *Wajin* encroachment (Utagawa 2003, see Figure 2).[15] Moreover, supporters argue that including Indigenous peoples in World Natural Heritage property management plans is the international standard, as Indigenous' communities practices of ecological sustainability in fact protected these ecosystems, preserving them for global posterity (Yomiuri Shimbun 20 July 2004).

Refusing to be ignored in the nomination process, grassroots organizations of Ainu and *Wajin* supporters sought to make IUCN aware of the history of Ainu investment in and cultivation of Shiretoko. A shared commitment to developing Indigenous ecotours in Shiretoko brought a group of Ainu and *Wajin* together under the moniker SIPETRU in April 2005.[16] In a letter to the IUCN, SIPETRU requested that Indigenous ecotourism be formalized as a route for Ainu participation in the property management plan. Using the mechanism of the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues (UNPFII), the AAH also delivered a statement criticizing the government's failure to include them in the nomination process in May 2004. This statement urged support for ecotourism, removal of the erosion control dams which block the travels of spawning salmon, and the restoration of salmon fishing and the first salmon ceremony, *Asir Cep Nomi*, through ecotourism. (Yomiuri Shimbun 20 July 2004). However, the AAH was in a vulnerable position vis-à-vis Hokkaido Prefecture in regard to the politically weighty *Iwor* restoration project. The *Iwor* project is an ongoing plan for restoring Ainu access to natural resources used in cultural production, and Hokkaido government had mandated that AAH choose between inclusion in World Heritage management, or the *Iwor* project, but not both (Ono 2006). Witnessing the awkward position of the AAH, many smaller non-profit and grassroots organizations began applying pressure to IUCN independently. One group, Uhanokka no Kai, made a courtesy call to the IUCN headquarters in Geneva, urging IUCN to seriously consider including Ainu in its recommendations for the property. UNESCO, a body reputed to be vigilant of the relationships between minorities and Indigenous peoples and particular natural and cultural heritage sites, was receptive to this appeal and the IUCN responded that it would positively consider Ainu participation in its report (Ono 2006).

After much negotiation, Shiretoko was selected as a World Heritage site in 2005. In its Technical Evaluation, the IUCN detailed several conditions for maintaining the property's World Heritage status, such as removing the erosion control dams and expanding the protected marine areas to a three-kilometer radius, together with incorporating Ainu as co-stewards. Shiretoko was deemed desirable for selection as a World Natural Heritage site not because of striking natural beauty; rather, it was chosen because of the particular mix of biological flora and fauna linking the terrestrial and marine environments. In other words, the ecological balance and symbiotic linkages between terrestrial and marine life render Shiretoko unique in this North Pacific environment. One condition for Shiretoko to retain its status as a World Heritage site, then, was to remove dams that obstruct salmon spawning (IUCN Report 2005).[17] Restoring ecological balance is critical not simply for the ecology of Shiretoko, but for Ainu as well. When erosion control dams block the travels of salmon spawning upstream, bears, eagles, and Blakiston's fish owls suffer from a dearth of foodstuffs in autumn, and Ainu themselves are robbed of the very food which mediates their relations with the non-human world. Legal access to salmon fishing was truncated in 1871 and with no fishing allocations for Ainu communities, except commercial fishing through fisheries unions, Ainu have been unable to reinstate ritual relationships with this important deity, though many Ainu have become commercial fishermen in *Wajin*-run fishing unions.[18]

In its technical evaluation, the IUCN noted that Shiretoko bears an Ainu name, and was "reverently called by the Ainu People as 'sir-etok'," translated in the report as "the end of mother earth" (IUCN World Heritage Technical Evaluation Report 2005: Article 5.4, 31). It is unclear what evidence the IUCN drew from in making this inference, but this translation of "*sir-etok*" was likely based on materials submitted by Ainu organizations. "*Sir*" corresponds with the same element in "*Ainu Mosir*," the Ainu name for their ancestral territory, often translated as "the quiet earth where humans live." Alongside ethnic mobilization in the second half of the twentieth-century, *Ainu Mosir* has come to signify Ainu homeland as a sovereign territory, and to index a "pre-capitalist golden age in which the Ainu lived independent and happy lives in harmony with nature … [before destruction] by invasion and colonization" (Siddle 2006: 117). In common with the global movement of pan-Indigenous identity linked with Mother Earth and shared histories of violent dispossession, for Ainu, the ancestral terrain itself has become politicized; a site of originary self-determination before Japanese colonization sundered this peaceful livelihood. Historian Rick Siddle argues that Mother Earth (*haha naru daichi*) was not part of the lexicon of ethnic identity or the Ainu worldview, until the nomenclature was adopted from Native Americans in the 1970s, and used to appeal for respect for ancestral territory and recognition of Ainu historical roles as stewards of the land. Since this era, "Mother Earth" has become "cultural shorthand for a special relationship with the land (in its specific form as Hokkaido and more generally as Nature)" (Siddle 2006: 119). This issue bears significance to ecotourism because it reflects one variety of auto-essentialism, of exaggerating the Ainu cosmology, a strategy used to regain partial political autonomy in the area. Efforts to parlay Ainu relations with nature into a pan-Indigenous imagery of Mother Earth also threaten to mask the nuance of contemporary Ainu cultural identities today.

The IUCN report also recognized the importance of Shiretoko for "traditional inhabitants," and recommended that "the culture of Ainu people and the traditional wisdom and skills of the local residents [be studied] to determine the methods to preserve, manage, and realize sustainable use of the natural environment" (IUCN Report 2005: 31). This call to study Ainu techniques of sustainability depends on the revival of TEK. Most significantly for Ainu lobbyists, the report recommended that Ainu be given the opportunity for involvement in the management of the property, specifically in developing ecotourism activities "which celebrate the traditional customs and uses of the nominated property" (IUCN Report 2005: 31). Without access to oral histories or elders raised in this area, ecotour planners have focused on the resources they do marshal control over, the archaeological record, memories of TEK, and oral literature (Figure 14.8). "Soft power" marshaled by ecotours may conceal more politicized agendas, while ecotour content generates tools used to leverage restitution of waterways, land, and marine areas. SIPETRU's stated objectives include realizing Indigenous ecotourism, developing a guide program that engages Indigenous peoples' culture and the nature of

Shiretoko, supporting employment and training of Indigenous guides, and fostering sustainable ecotourism that conserves the natural environment of Shiretoko (SIPETRU Establishment Purpose 2005). *Casi*, for example, have emerged as a focal point for ecotours and for efforts to regain the land in Shiretoko. As physical formations and as spatial locales, SIPETRU members argue that *casi* condense the lived histories of Ainu people in the landscape of Shiretoko, providing focal points for ecotours. As with Maori ecotours in New Zealand, *casi* represented as sacred spaces may provide the rationale for reclaiming land, though members recognize the gap between Ainu political position vis-à-vis the government, and that of Maori communities.[19] SIPETRU members seek to raise awareness of Ainu history by emphasizing *casi* across Hokkaido and building support for broader rights revival. Along these lines, SIPETRU founding member Ono Yūgo has suggested that one of the first steps toward recovering land rights would be to recover the right to manage the ecosystem in Shiretoko, based on similar models from New Zealand and elsewhere (Ono 2006: 51).

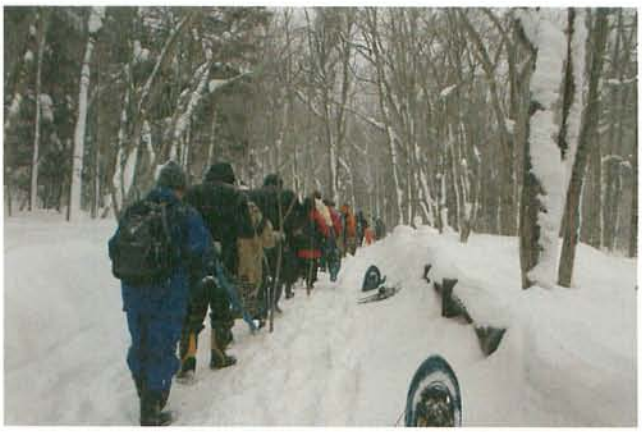

Figure 14.8: Nature walk. Discussing Ainu uses of the forest, Shiretoko.

Analysis: Weighing the Benefits of Ecotourism

As a new medium of representation, Indigenous ecotourism places Ainu at the center, enabling Ainu to author, design, and control the content and the delivery of messages about them. Proponents describe ecotourism as economically empowering, generating employment opportunities based on *Ainu meshi*, or the possibility of linking ethnic identity with livelihood. Yet the economic component of ecotourism is still marginal, as most ecotours outside Shiretoko generate barely enough to cover supply costs. Ecotourism does cultivate new audiences. Urban Ainu may benefit from joining ecotours to engage with the TEK of their ancestors; yet most ecotours attract interest from an ethnic *Wajin* demographic who have the freedom and financial flexibility to travel. After the Indigenous Peoples' Summit in *Ainu Mosir* held in tandem with the 2008 G8 meetings, Indigenous delegations joined Ainu-led ecotours both in Shiretoko and at Hokkaido University.

Ecotourism may appear far removed from wildlife management or co-stewardship of Shiretoko; but it allows urban Ainu youth to learn the TEK of their ancestors, restore relationships with deities of the natural sphere, hone skills and awareness as naturalists, and re-member these practices in their bodies. Proponents argue that ecotourism has the potential to restore the ancestral Ainu worldview through wild food gathering, relearning subsistence practices for cultural transmission, and inscribing Ainu cultural logics onto the land through stewardship and language. When Ainu youth are given the opportunity to work as nature guides, the consistent access to wild places provides a context for crafting "sensibilities" (*kansei*) as Ainu (Interview: Yūki, September 2007). Yūki further pointed out that Ainu activism has concentrated on exacting compensation through welfare and other funding from the Hokkaido government (through the Utari Policy stipends from 1974–present); and suggested that ecotourism and involvement in environmental issues provide avenues for Ainu to contribute solutions instead of demanding government largesse (ibid.). These solutions might be drawn from insights through ancestral practices of interacting with *kamuy*-spirits (i.e. natural resources) and maintaining balance, rather than upsetting the ecological equilibrium. Yūki has proposed that traditional Ainu narrative forms such as *uwepeker* and *yūkar* be combined with ecotourism to encourage gratitude for all living beings. All life forms have stories, in Yūki's view, and storytelling helps cultivate awareness of the interconnectedness of all living beings and in turn urges greater consideration for others (Interview: Yūki, 2007). Embedded memories of the land, which have been transmitted through oral literature today are being recombined and invented anew for this generation. This is what Yūki envisions as an Ainu contribution toward Japan and toward the global quest for balance in relations with the non-human world.

Critique and Remaining Challenges

Ecotours have become increasingly popular and attractive in recent years because of their alleged commitment to sustainability, their engagement with local communities, and the intimate knowledge of local places implicit in their design (Vivanco and Gordon 2006). According to ecotourism models, these types of tours should bring economic and environmental benefit to local communities through encouraging sustainable economic development, minimal consumption of local resources, should be sourced by local food and accommodation vendors, and ongoing monitoring of growth for minimal impact. Ainu ecotours have not managed to achieve this yet: most rely on overnight or three-day stays of tourists flying in from Tokyo, and leave a significant carbon footprint, but they do invest in the local economy and rely on local merchants for food and lodging. In Shiretoko as other contexts, the impetus for designing ecotourism programs has not emerged organically from Ainu themselves, but has been generated by non-Ainu urban intellectuals and activists.[20] In terms of initiative, accountability and perseverance, Indigenous ecotour programs in Shiretoko have been organized primarily by urban transplants and housed in a locally-based organization, rather than percolating upwards from the Indigenous grassroots of the community.

At the time of writing Ainu involvement in Shiretoko continues primarily through the architecture of ecotourism. The weight of the IUCN recommendation for Indigenous ecotourism notwithstanding, in an interview in February

2007, Ministry of the Environment representatives in Shiretoko reported being unaware of this requirement.[21] To date, the Shiretoko experiment in Indigenous ecotourism supports only one full-time Ainu guide, who supplements income from Indigenous ecotours with conventional ecotours offered by the host company, Shinra. As discussed above, SIPETRU aims to start a training program and cultivate future guides within the local community, but sees the current guides as a bridge. This program has not managed to establish strong links with local descendants of the Ainu community here. This stems in part from the fact that a publicly identified Ainu community no longer exists in the physical locale of Shiretoko, for reasons I describe below. Some Ainu descendants living outside Shari and Rausu have been vocal opponents of ecotour programs, lodging complaints with local officials when Sapporo Ainu conducted ritual prayers on ancestral land, without gaining appropriate permits first (Ono 2006).[22] These persons expressed a sense of entitlement and desire to control the narrative of Ainu history inside Shiretoko because their ancestors had settled in the area.

Today the official Ainu population in Utoro where the ecotours are located, is roughly four persons.[23] This raises the perplexing issue of why Ainu population numbers are so low in Eastern Hokkaido. One historical reason stems from demographic shifts in the post–Kunasir-Menasi War era (1789–1869), and specifically from genocidal policies that drove Ainu out of these regions (Sarashina 1970). After this last armed Ainu resistance against slave labor-like conditions in eastern Ezo, contract fisheries sought to quell violent rebellions. Historians reasoned that the sharp decrease in population resulted from efforts to starve the resistance through a policy of relocation and disarmament.[24] Matsuura Takeshiro (surveyor for the Tokugawa Bakufu) reported that after this conflict, Ainu were said to have been annihilated on Kunasir Island. Resulting from the dearth of labor, Ainu in neighboring regions such as Shari and Abashiri (mainland Hokkaido), were forced to relocate to Risir and Kunasir islands for work in the contract fisheries. Resembling a de facto removal act, these policies promoted gender segregation, splitting husbands and wives, and forcing youth to work unceasingly through their most productive years, eliminating the option of marriage and childbirth. Women were often forced to serve as mistresses or "local wives" (*genchi zuma*) for mainland Japanese bosses, or subjected to sexual violence at the hands of *Wajin* laborers (Sarashina 1981). Under these conditions, the demographic balance rapidly shifted in favor of *Wajin*: a 1789 population of 2,000 Ainu had shrunk to 713 by 1859 (Hanasaki 1993).

As these comparisons illustrate, various stakeholders hold competing ideas about how the Ainu-Shiretoko narrative should be imagined. Ecotourism management and development continues to be choreographed from a top-down perspective, and has not proceeded from a consensus-based process, although the content of individual tours are developed by the tour guide. Finally, there are no local or national standards for Indigenous ecotours, and the concept remains unfamiliar to most Japanese nationals. As this is a new and emergent market, much remains to be determined in future. The examples I have cited cannot speak for a broad swath of Indigenous ecotourism in Japan, but do illustrate the salience of Indigenous ecotourism as a burgeoning market in Ainu communities.

Meditations on Weeds, or Toward a Conclusion

My aim in this chapter has been to track two concerns, first, the possibility that Indigenous ecotourism foments growth of an Indigenous space inside Japan and articulates with a global Indigenous space, and second, to analyze how Indigenous ecotours enact performances of TEK to further usage access and reclamation of land and waterways. Today's ecotours target a non-Ainu audience and seek to raise awareness of Ainu culture, history, and relations with the natural world, thereby addressing the question of Indigenous space, whilst cultivating a sympathetic public and support for rights revival. But the second objective, of linking usage to access rights, may be suspended indefinitely. While land reclamation is compelling for urban activists, for rural Ainu residents, this question is infused with hurdles. The case of salmon illustrates this tension. Ainu may have difficulty finding sympathy from local communities on their claims on salmon as a guardian spirit. Salmon represent a financial and symbolic investment for commercial fishermen because they are no longer wild: 95 percent of Hokkaido's salmon are produced through artificial insemination.[25] Hatchlings are scattered into the ocean, and when salmon return to spawn, fishermen feel a sense of ownership toward salmon they personally hatched. When approached to issue salmon permits for a First Salmon Ceremony, one Ainu SIPETRU member who runs a commercial fishery, responded, "Absolutely not, we won't let you do traditional fishing in our river." Although this person identifies as Ainu, he refused to authorize a salmon catch, because of the economic sensitivity of this issue in the fisheries union (Interview: Fujisaki, 8 June 2007).

At stake is not so much ethnicity, as the focus on Ainu ecotours suggests, rather, the question of Indigenous ecotourism consists in spatial relations, in locality and place. As another Ainu SIPETRU member suggested, "Selling the notion of introducing grasses to people for money is challenging. For Honshu people those might be endangered or rare plants, for us, they are simply weeds, obstructions in the way of our work" (Interview: Toda, 27 September 2007). As Toda implies, a slippage between rural and urban perceptions of the landscape and notions of value drives a wedge between local and urban initiatives. The transformative potential of Indigenous ecotourism—to recover land, ancestral values, pride, livelihood, and sacred spaces—remains bound within the imaginations of urban intellectuals who inaugurated this and other ecotourism programs. For rural community dwellers, regardless of their ethnicity, the natural environment is frequently reduced to exchange value, i.e. how natural resources may be converted into cash. Exchange values are determined at the apex of the economic system, in a top-down fashion, as are activist's visions of ecotours as a solution to Ainu dispossession and unemployment. Approximately 17 percent of contemporary Ainu work in primary industries such as fishing, agriculture, and forestry (Hokkaido University 2008). Their labor generates value in central Japan; weeds simply aggravate. From an historical perspective, perceiving natural resources based on their exchange value is a continuation of nascent

colonialism and commodification of fur-bearing animals, which led to the breakdown of the *Iwor* system and armed conflict between neighboring *Iwor* districts in the seventeenth-century, precipitating Kosamain's War. Still, many Ainu remain ambivalent about a system that commodifies their labor and transforms wilderness into fields of production. Ecotour guide Ishii Ponpe, who worked in forestry in his youth, witnessed the clearing of Hokkaido's deciduous forests and their reemergence as tree plantations, followed by DDT being sprayed on the trees to eliminate rodents. The pesticide brought with it stinging nasal membranes followed by animal corpses in the forest and fish kills in the rivers (Ishii 2008).

Ainu economic survival remains embroiled in a system of capitalist valuation, especially because Ainu still lack resource access rights. In contrast to a system of economic relations based on exchange value, heritage Ainu worldviews located value in grasses with medicinal or edible qualities, but not all. Under an Indigenous or ancestral value scheme, plants which contain healing, nutritive, or protective properties received names, while others were generically called grasses (*kina*). With this ancestral value scheme, reciprocity and obligations to the flora and fauna commanded attitudes of humility and prudence, to use resources sparingly and leave the root structures intact.

Returning to his meditation on weeds, Toda suggested, "These weeds are such a part of our everyday, the thing is we can't see how they might be important. Ecotours force us to recognize that the environment is what actually matters. [We need to] foster awareness locally, maybe through ecotours which target local communities, rather than Honshu or foreigners" (Interview: Toda, 27 September 2007). Yet the necessity of securing income trumps Indigenous values, for the moment. After ten years of success in ecotourism and quantifiable proof that a person can generate income from "teaching about weeds," local Ainu might eventually choose careers in ecotourism (ibid.). In the pre-World Heritage era, most Hokkaido-ites, including Ainu, conflated Shiretoko with the rest of rural Hokkaido as an underdeveloped backwater. The government's hyper-focus on the area and anticipated influx of cash generated a gold rush mentality, and many rural Ainu communities perceived ecotours as yet another money-grab. To forge relations between urban Ainu nature guides and rural counterparts perplexed by the fetishization of wilderness, Toda calls for sustained and consistent focus on local communities, in communication, planning, and implementation. If local places are disregarded, the ecotour will remain an exercise in outsiders consuming the local, thus violating customary *Iwor* protocols. As rural localities like Shiretoko become converted into "Indigenous spaces," exchange value-based economic models may gradually be superseded by Indigenous value systems. Whether these relationships are recast in the legal vernacular of land rights or not, relearning ancestral practice and honoring local protocols, will gradually restore the memory of these places to local communities.

Notes

1. Shiretoko had been selected from among the three top contenders including the Ogasawara Islands and the Ryūkyū Islands (Ono 2006).
2. To standardize the usage of "Indigenous," alongside Aboriginal peoples and Native Americans, I capitalize "Indigenous" throughout the chapter, in keeping with the *Oxford Guide to Canadian English Usage* (2007: 316).
3. The Shiretoko World Heritage Regional Consultation Committee had been established to develop a management plan for the property, and Fujisaki served on this committee. This committee included bureaucrats from the Ministry of the Environment, the Ministry of Forestry and Agriculture, Hokkaido Prefectural government, Shari Town, Rausu Town, the local fisheries unions, local tourism associations, and Fujisaki as a community representative of the Investigative Commission for Adjusting Usage in Shiretoko National Park.
4. TEK may be defined as a "body of knowledge, practice, and belief, evolving by adaptive processes and handed down through generations by cultural transmission," and concerns the social relations inhering between individual human beings, humans and animals, and the environment (Berkes 1999: 8). I discuss the concept of TEK in more detail later in the chapter.
5. "Shallow history" (*rekishi ga asai*) indexes the way that *Wajin* (ethnic Japanese) refer to the history of human inhabitation in Hokkaido, always in comparison with *Wajin* history in Honshu.
6. *Casi* locations were extensively researched and documented by the Hokkaido Board of Education in 1950 (Ono 2006).
7. Nōmoto (1998) writes that being compelled to enact the bear spirit-sending ceremony as entertainment must have been humiliating for late nineteenth-century Ainu in Shiraoi (16). The bear spirit was one of the most revered deities in the Ainu pantheon, honored seasonally through the *Iyomante* ceremonial. To perform this as an act of entertainment for tourists was effectively to desecrate the relationship between Ainu and the deities who provided them with sustenance.
8. Hokkaido Prefectural authorities issued a directive to prevent Ainu income through tourism including conducting mockups of the bear spirit-sending ceremony, wearing traditional clothing and/or modeling for tourist photos, travelling across Japan performing historical dances, or lecturing about the Ainu pre-colonial lifestyle (Issued in February 1941, cited in *Hokkaido Karafuto Nenkan*, in Saito 1999: 115).
9. Siddle also notes that in a 1975 survey of Tokyo schoolchildren and university students, all age groups associated Ainu with stereotypical images such as bearded elders, dancing, woodcarving and bears, and hirsuteness. Moreover, survey respondents did not see Ainu as Japanese, but identified them with Native Americans instead (Siddle 1996: 158).
10. The term "vessel" here is from Deana Dartt-Newton, forthcoming. She has used the concept of "vessel" to describe the work that canoes do in ferrying the knowledge and practices of ancestors from the realm of memory into the realm of contemporary everyday.
11. I recognize that most archaeologists consider the Satsumon era and the so-called Ainu era to be separate

historical periods. Here I follow Ono's (2007) revised timeline of Japanese historiography which traces Ainu settlement in Hokkaido to prehistoric Jomon people. Japanese archaeologists have insisted on using the material culture record as a guide in periodization, even when oral literature and osteological evidence demonstrate otherwise (Ono 2007).

12. "*Yay Yukar*," or "to do on one's own," references the self-guided, self-motivated nature of this group's aims. Participants are expected to be self-motivated and to chart their own course.
13. The *tonkori* is a stringed instrument of Sakhalin Ainu origin, closely resembling a zither. Today the *tonkori* is undergoing a revival, spearheaded by *tonkori* revivalist Kanō Ok's work in the 1990s. *Tonkori*, together with *mukkuri* (bamboo jaw harps), feature prominently in many of the Ainu ecotours across Japan today.
14. Tobinitai Culture, identified primarily through material culture remains, has been classified as a hybrid cultural formation incorporating practices from both Ainu and Okhostk cultures, prevalent in the Shiretoko area during the ninth through thirteenth-centuries, just prior to the emergence of Ainu culture in Shiretoko.
15. *Casi* may be demarcated by moatlike trenches, earthen walls of fortification, or may indicate a fortress itself. Each of these structures leave a record in the soil structure. Some archaeologists suggest *casi* were used by the wealthy to store accumulated treasures, based on the concentration of material wealth buried in these sites. *Casi* have, in oral literature, served most frequently as sites of epic battles, followed by roles in legends of heroes and deities, and finally, as the playgrounds of the gods, as spaces for erecting altars to the deities and offering prayers (Utagawa 1992).
16. SIPETRU is both an acronym for the Shiretoko Indigenous Peoples Eco Tourism Research Union, and is based on an actual Ainu phrase translatable as "big river path."
17. At present, nine out of forty-four rivers have been artificially modified, usually with dams, and the report recommended a Salmonid Management Plan to restore salmon habitats and spawning paths because of the key role salmon play in the overall balance of Shiretoko's ecosystem.
18. Technically there are some ceremonial occasions which enable Ainu to celebrate salmon, such as the *Asir Cep Nomi* (New Salmon Prayer) taking place across Hokkaido Ainu communities in autumn.
19. Maori ecotourism provides the impetus for Ainu efforts to utilize ecotours as a political tool to leverage return of ancestral and sacred land, and SIPETRU members conducted study tours to gain firsthand knowledge of ecotours. After innumerable court cases and vocal demonstrations, Maori have begun to physically reclaim control of their land and resource base in recent years and today stand as an international model of Indigenous peoples enacting self-determination within the contemporary nation-state (Ono 2007). Contemporary Maori ecotours are staged on land that has been repatriated from the New Zealand state. But the Maori example is an unlikely departure point for Ainu ecotours (Interview: Fujisaki, 8 June 2007).
20. My comments here are not intended as a negative commentary on these well-intentioned intellectuals and activists, although certainly many of them embrace particular agendas with regard to how Ainu activism may advance other objectives. Rather, I intend to highlight an ongoing problem of initiative and responsibility that permeates the Ainu community. The largest Ainu organization which serves as the chief negotiator with the Japanese government has evolved into a highly bureaucratic, almost quasi-governmental organization, and does not support a democratic process in electing its leadership, leading to career "bureaucrat-activists" who create long-term seats for themselves on the AAH Board of Directors (lewallen 2008; cf Siddle 1996: 187). In the past, the Secretary General and the Undersecretary General were both career bureaucrats, rotated in from Hokkaido Prefectural government. In recent years, however, the Secretary-General position has been ceded to an ethnic *Wajin* who has retired from his post as a career bureaucrat, and identifies as an advocate of Ainu campaigns for Indigenous rights. Grassroots activists have difficulty generating and maintaining support for projects outside the purview of the AAH, and most of them seek to keep one foot on each side of the establishment-progressive divide.
21. I was told that representatives of SIPETRU had met with higher-ranking administrators in the Ministry of the Environment to discuss how to interpret the IUCN recommendations for Indigenous ecotourism. One avenue is AAH participation in committee meetings of the Shiretoko Ecotourism Promotion Committee from late 2004–2007.
22. The inlets at the end of the peninsula, Bunkichi Inlet and Keikichi Inlet, for example, were reportedly named after their ancestors (Interview: Miyazaki, July 2007).
23. This number does not include a few community members who are purportedly of Ainu ancestry but who do not publicly identify as Ainu. Upwards of 60–75 percent of all persons descended from Ainu parents in Japan are believed to fall into this category.
24. Strict rules were implemented to control resistance. Mountain hatchets were no longer permitted, (because of their potential utility as weapons), rendering walking or gathering foodstuffs in the mountains difficult (Sarashina 1970).
25. Approximately 95 percent of all salmon produced in Hokkaido is artificially inseminated and then released in the ocean as fish fry. Japan's rivers have become inaccessible or dangerous places for salmon because of levees, dams, development, and pollution (Personal Communication: Nakamura Ayumi, 30 September 2010).

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アイデンティティを演じ、大地を守る—日本における先住民族エコツアーとアイヌ民族の復権

アンエリス・ルアレン

2008年に日本の先住民族と認められたアイヌ民族は、北海道におけるエコツーリズムを通して、実際にアイヌの伝統的知識を再現することによって土地と民族自決を回復する道を探り始めた。植民地支配や同化政策の影響により、一見すると現代のアイヌは土地や水域に根ざした宇宙観や社会関係とのつながりが絶たれているようにみえる。エコツーリズムは、野生の食物の収集や文化伝承の為の生存実践の再学習、そして土地管理や地名言語を通してアイヌ文化の論理を刻み直すことで、同化政策以前のアイヌの世界観を再現する機会を提供しうる。先住民族は生態系に対する固有のモラリズムを持っているだろう、という本質主義的な主張にたいする危機感を抱きつつ、本論文では次のように論じてみたい。つまり、先住民族エコツーリズムは、アイヌ民族が先住民族として土地との関係を強化しうる手がかりとなり、また、政府に対しても数世代に及ぶ植民地政策の責任を訴えることにつながり、かつ最終的にエスニック・アイデンティティを活性化させるために、土地・自然資源権を取り戻す可能性を提供している、ということである。

2005年、知床国立公園は世界自然遺産に登録された。先住民族アイヌは1789年の日本人との戦争（北海道における日本の侵略に対するアイヌ民族最後の武装抵抗）により、この世界遺産地域から強制的に移住させられたが、しかし今でも彼らは地域の植生や野生動物についての管理責任者を自認しているといえる。環境省の代表は地域コミュニティのリーダーを管理計画会議に取り込んだが、しかしながら、アイヌたちは上記の理由により知床地区からほぼいなくなっていたと思われていたため、会議に加えようとしなかった。たしかに近隣のアイヌコミュニティは、農業や漁業を取り入れ、資本主義経済システムのもとで生産物を最大化することに関心を移していった。それと引き換えに、彼らの多くは先住民族としての大地にまつわる関係性を失っていった。しかしながら、政府のアイヌ排除の態度にもかかわらず、世界遺産のためのキャンペーンによってその地域の文化資本は活用されていたため、都会のアイヌは知床の大地に対し政治的な要求を突きつけた。都会のアイヌサポーターたちは集結し、ジュネーブのユネスコ本部まで出かけ、エコツーリズムを通した遺産の適切な管理にアイヌを含むよう要求した。少数先住民族と遺産の適切な管理に対する共感から、IUCNはアイヌを含んだ適切な管理、特にエコツアーの発展を日本政府に勧告した。

知床という日本に於ける３番目の世界自然遺産登録は一連の出来事のきっかけとなり、結果的には、アイヌを知床の共同管理者として含めるようにというIUCN勧告を導き出した。地域に根ざした体験型ツアーは、土地に対するアイヌの物語の再発見についても焦点を当てることを可能にし、また同時に、北海道全道を通した土地や水域、祖先の記憶の埋め込められたアイヌの特別な関係性を紹介していくことにつながった。現在アイヌは活発に土地と景観の関係を刷新する方法を探っている。エコツーリズムは、アイヌのアイデンティティを再構成するための余地をもたらし、伝統知識の担い手の知恵の伝達手段としての可能性を秘めているといえる。アイヌは先住民族として承認されたにも関わらず、この新たなステータスによって、土地利用権や資源権の奪還が保証されているわけではない。というのは、政府はすでにアイヌの先住民族性は海外の先住民族権利の複合状況とは「異なる」、と表明しているからである。少なくとも、エコツーリズムは、「アイヌ飯」（文字通り民族性を通して自活すること）を生み出し、アイヌの人々の活動や知識体系の利用によって収入を得ることを可能にした。実際のところ、最近まで植民地政策後の「アイヌ飯」の唯一の源泉は、観光地での就職、木彫りや刺繍の仕事などでしかなかったからである。

本稿の狙いは二つある。ひとつはアイヌ・エコツーリズムが、いかにして日本における「先住民族の区域」を広げているかを論証することにあり、二つめは、エコツーリズムがいかに土地や水域の使用権利と、より広い意味でのその利用のための戦略を提供しているかを分析することにある。ハサウェイのいう「先住民族の区域」（2010）というモデルが、異なる地政学的な地域において、いかにして先住民族アイデンティティという概念の出現を生み出しているのかを考察し、地域のニーズに対する適応と発展の足跡をたどることを試みる。おそらくはアイヌ先住民族は土地との関係性を再構成することによって、北海道の大地と海での文化伝承活動のなかで、広範囲な口承や身体的、物質的記憶に基づいた先祖とのつながりを含む一つの空間として現実化することが予想される。エコロジカルな伝統知識（TEK）を活性化することによって、アイヌは、アイヌとカムイ（人間と神）との関係において自身を再び捉え直しはじめ、歴史に根ざした過程としてよりもむしろ今日的な関係性を実践し始めたと言える。なぜなら初期の観光業がアイヌを異質な見せ物として対象化したのに対し、今、アイヌとサポーターたちはエコツーリズムという緊急の形態を提案することで、その土地の権威と象徴の主体をアイヌ自身に返す、ということを試みているからである。

邦訳：中村 歩

プロフィール

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